UNITED NATIONS

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General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/46/PV.14
3 October 1991

ENGLISH

Forty-sixth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 14th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 30 September 1991, at 10 a.m.

President:	Mr. SHIHABI	(Saudi Arabia)
later:	Mr. NYAKYI (Vice-President)	(United Republic of Tanzania)

- Address by Mr. Miguel Trovoada, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe
- Statement by the President
- Address by Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, President of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine
- General debate [9] (continued)

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This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

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Statements made by

Mr. Diria (United Republic of Tanzania)

Mr. Moussa (Egypt)

Mr. Kanju (Pakistan)

Mr. Skubiszewski (Poland)

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

ADDRESS BY MR. MIGUEL TROVOADA, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

Mr. Miguel Trovoada, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, His Excellency Mr. Miguel Trovoada, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President TROVOADA (interpretation from French): In addressing this forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, I should like first of all to express the respect and very high esteem felt by the people of Sao Tome and Principe towards this noble Organization, whose activities attest to the importance of its role in the search for understanding between peoples in order to safeguard peace between nations.

Allow me, Sir, to convey to you my congratulations on your election as President of the General Assembly at this session and to take this opportunity to wish you every success in carrying out your work. My delegation is convinced that your experience and your great qualities are the surest gauge of that success. Over and above your personal qualities, this choice is also an expression of our community's recognition of the increasing role your country, Saudi Arabia, is constantly playing both in the Middle East and internationally.

I now turn to the Secretary-General, to convey to him the tribute of the people of Sao Tome and Principe and to tell him how much admiration and esteem we have for the work he has carried out over his 10 years at the helm of the biggest and most prestigious of international organizations. He has been able to steer this frail craft with persistance, courage and firmness towards less hazardous shores by avoiding, with the wisdom and lightness of touch all recognize in him, the perils that lay along its course. We are grateful to him for this.

We particularly welcome the return of the three Baltic republics into our community; in this act of justice they have regained their rights. Our warmest congratulations go also to the Marshall Islands and to Micronesia. We greet the two States of the Korean people here present in the wish that this

(President Trovoada)

forum will provide them with a setting and an additional opportunity for dialogue and concertation which may bring about rapid progress along their converging paths towards the reunification of their homeland.

Indeed, we set great store by dialogue and concertation as the instruments of choice in the quest for peace, as much within States as in the relations between them. That is why we are so very pleased at seeing peace covering even more of the world, whether at the national level - and here we cannot but pay a resounding tribute to our Angolan brothers for their courage and wisdom in negotiating and signing a peace agreement, or at the regional level - and here we are referring to the forthcoming international conference on the Middle East, at which we hope to see the national rights and legitimate interests of all the States and peoples concerned prevail, including, of course, those of the State of Israel and the Palestinian people.

May the spirit of peace guide those parties which are still in conflict, in Mozambique as in Cambodia, in Yugoslavia as in Liberia, in El Salvador as in the Sudan.

We hail the imminent referendum in Western Sahara, in which the Sahraoui people will have an opportunity to express their views freely on their political future.

We deeply regret the fact that such an opportunity has not yet been given to the people of East Timor, who went straight from being colonized to being occupied in the aftermath of a foreign invasion. We hope that the international community, which was capable of reacting promptly in Kuwait to uphold the law, will be capable of finding a formula that will also enable the Maubere people to exercise their sacred right to self-determination.

(President Trovoada)

Still within the context of eliminating hotbeds of tension within national boundaries, we cannot but mention the positive developments in the situation in South Africa. For quite a while now, the country has been experiencing major changes in respect of its apartheid policy. The main pillars of this aberrant system have been dismantled, and the dynamic of negotiation thus seems to be gaining the upper hand over the destructive logic of violent confrontation. We congratulate all the parties involved in this process, and urge them strongly to continue down the path of dialogue with a view to successfully defining an institutional framework capable of guaranteeing peaceful national coexistence. It is our dearest hope that this great African nation will soon occupy the pole position which it should hold within the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and which will remain empty so long as the country is not totally wiped clean of some lingering aftereffects, racial discrimination in other guises, which prevent it from proclaiming the equality of its citizens before the law with all that that entails.

This general trend towards the elimination of hotbeds of tension throughout the world is perfectly consistent with the trend towards universal détente, which has not faltered over the last few years and has given mankind fresh cause for hope. The conflicts which are occurring here and there, stemming from certain specific local causes, do not seem to us capable of long withstanding the spirit of détente prevailing in relations between the great countries.

Accordingly, we are witnessing movements towards dismantling a number of conventional and nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, which, first, is very reassuring, and, secondly, enables us to dream of the extraordinary progress which could be achieved in the field of economic,

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scientific and human development if some of the resources which were formerly allocated to these weapons could be used to meet the needs of the the least developed countries. However, to do this, perhaps a greater awareness is needed of the community of interests which binds the rich countries to the poor in the face of the common destiny they seem ineluctably to share.

At the moment when to our great regret the Secretary-General is taking leave of his office, he has given us, with that upright honesty that is the prerogative of truly free spirits, his reflections on the state of Africa at the end of five years of the special Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, which was approved in January 1986. He paints an objective picture which, we have to admit, is far from encouraging; it is, in fact, an acknowledgment of failure. Moreover, what else could it have been, when the inequalities in the terms of trade, which go against the African countries, only render the efforts some of those countries have courageously undertaken to diversify and increase production more and more pointless? What else could it have been, when the direction of the financial flows, owing in particular to debt service payments, is, as we all know, from Africa onwards? It is true, by this logic that Africa will continue to get poorer. But is this inevitable? Frankly, we do not think so.

(President Trovoada)

Africa, as others have said before and as others will be able to say better than us, harbours the human and natural resources needed for advancement. But it is still necessary for parameters such as justice and solidarity to form part of the economic dimension of international relations. It is necessary for the fluctuating, temporary interests of States to give way to the permanent interests of peoples, enduring interests.

Justice and solidarity: these two words are the true keys to the much-desired peace that we have spoken of, words without which nothing lasting can be built. Justice, because poverty, unlike wealth, has a tolerance threshold. If inequality pushes people to the extreme limit of what can be borne, the social explosion becomes inevitable, and no one can predict the consequences of the revolt of a people unleashed when they have nothing to lose because they have nothing to defend. And in this chapter of economic inequality and social injustice, what is true for one country is also true for a continent.

Indeed, it is difficult for us, with all the means of communication and exchange that we have today and that continue to develop at a rapid pace, to conceive of a peaceful coexistence in the community of nations between a few opulent oases of prosperity in the middle of a vast desert of poverty, poverty that grows more and more acute. In these circumstances, there appears on the horizon a danger which must absolutely be prevented.

The answer lies in solidarity - not philanthropic solidarity, dictated only by the whims of the heart and confused with charity, but solidarity based on the rightness of reason. That alone can save us. Not to acknowledge this is to be an ostrich, and it does no good to hide one's head, because reality is stubborn.

(President Trovoada)

The danger that can fall upon us from the sky, whether it be from the holes in the ozone layer or from the clouds of Chernobyl, makes no distinction between men or between countries. When the Indian in the distant Amazon forest cuts down a tree, when an African farmer burns his fields in order to prepare the land for his crops, somewhere, thousands of kilometres away, someone breathes less easily; hence the great crusade for the preservation of nature and the defence of the environment, which we enthusiastically support.

We are pleased with the initiative to hold the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which is scheduled for next year in Brazil. Environment and development: here we are on the right path towards the necessary awareness of the conception, programming and implementation of the mechanisms leading to the materialization of more active solidarity between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South. As long as our people have at their disposition no resources other than wood to cook their food and build their houses, as long as they have no access to less archaic technology - let us not deceive ourselves - trees will continue to be felled and fields to be burned.

It is our fear that, in the development of solidarity, Africa will once again be forgotten. The systematic marginalization of our continent has led some people to develop pessimistically inclined philosophical concepts, which we consider negative.

Sao Tome amd Principe is a very small country, forgotten among the forgotten. It is small geographically and demographically but great in its will to succeed, trying, within the constraints of its enormously limited financial, natural and human resources, to make the necessary effort and sacrifices.

(President Trovoada)

Of course, Sao Tome and Principe's small size and lack of major resources are a great handicap, because we have no way of attracting the attention of the world's decision makers. However, this may be an advantage, because cooperation with Sao Tome and Principe is available to any developed country. Assistance, however insignificant it might seem, is in itself meaningful for a small country. Something achieved at a cost that would seem laughable to others could have a positive impact on the conditions in which the people of Sao Tome and Principe live.

These effects can be immediate and visible to the naked eye. But one might wonder why this small country is still in the same situation today. The reasons are, in general, sufficiently well known. Some are directly or indirectly attributable to us, while others are not.

As for the former, we rose up in victorious battle against a monolithic regime that constricted individual freedom and brought with it the defects of totalitarianism, in contempt of human values and fundamental rights.

Our victory has been manifested, following a difficult, persistent, but peaceful struggle, in the restoration of a democratic, pluralistic regime in Sao Tome and Principe. Whether on the occasion of the ratification of the democratic Constitution by popular referendum on 22 August 1990, or in the legislative elections on 20 January 1991 or in the presidential election held on 3 March of the same year, the people of Sao Tome and Principe determinedly chose change, with order and calm. It is true: our democratic transition succeeded, our people displayed a lofty civic sense and the institutions that resulted from the new legal and constitutional framework were established and are operating smoothly.

The multiparty system that is now part of our national political landscape is starting to become familiar to us. Our former leaders maintain

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their presence - they have their rightful place in society. The small family that is the people of Sao Tome and Principe could now finally be reconciled with its traditions of joy, brotherhood, kindness and serenity if the economic and financial situation of the country were not so disastrous.

In order to try to remedy this situation, the new democratic regime has resumed negotiations with the Bretton Woods institutions with a view to revitalizing the structural adjustment programme, which was suspended because of the former regime's lack of respect for the commitments it had undertaken. A series of measures adopted last May in order to reduce our macroeconomic distortions did not produce the desired results. Therefore, a new package of more-binding measures has just been applied. The Government has thus displayed its determination to deal with the real problems and its will to cooperate with international financial institutions and the international community as a whole.

As for the people of Sao Tome and Principe, whose purchasing power shrinks year by year, they are having a great deal of difficulty tolerating the impact of the two devaluations, of 22.5 per cent and 40 per cent, in the space of three and a half months, a 275 per cent increase in the price of fuel, a two-thirds reduction in the budgetary deficit from one year to the next, salary freezes - all this in a context of price truthfulness, which is appropriate to a market economy.

(President Trovoada)

We know that the country must pursue a policy of strict economic and financial management and that, in order to due so, certain stabilizing measures must be undertaken. But we also know that without a sustained effort in the economy's production sector, there can be no viable stability.

That is why we wish to launch from this rostrum a sincere and formal appeal to the international community to support the efforts and sacrifices of the people of Sao Tome and Principe in its very unequal struggle against poverty, suffering and misery. We need support in the elaboration and financing of small projects in the field of infrastructure and production; support in the training of national cadres, without which it is difficult to ensure development; and immediate support in creating the conditions necessary to mitigate the social consequences of structural adjustment, which are unduly harsh for some segments of the population - women, children and the elderly in particular.

Thirty years ago, I came to the United Nations as a nationalist leader and a petitioner. I was allowed to describe before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly the situation of the people of Sao Tome and Principe, which had suffered under the colonial yoke for five centuries.

In 1975, the year my country acceded to independence and became a State Member of the United Nations, I had the great privilege as Head of Government of thanking the community of nations, from this very rostrum, for its support of our liberation struggle and of requesting at the same time its generous assistance for the work of national reconstruction that we were about to undertake.

Today, it is my great honour to return here, as my country's first democratically elected Head of State, to plead for support for democracy and respect for the values of human rights in which we firmly believe. The

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democracy we have freely chosen and established is still fragile, and our legal structures are embryonic. They must be supported and strengthened. The only danger threatening them at this time - and it is a major one - is the economic and financial situation of the country and its inability to cope, through its own means, with the people's extreme poverty.

If we do not succeed in solving these problems - and that is possible only with the help of the international community - we fear that the democratic achievements of Sao Tome and Principe will be jeopardized. It would be disastrous for our people and others if the unrest which has arisen elsewhere in favour of democracy were to occur in Sao Tome and Principe against it.

We retain the hope that this will not be the case, because we know that we, a country committed to freedom, peace and justice, will never allow hunger to smother hope.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Miguel Trovoada, President of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): At 10 a.m. this morning, the following delegations were present in the General Assembly Hall: Albania, Algeria, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bahrain, Belarus, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Canada, China, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Germany, Greece, Kuwait, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Malawi, Namibia, Nepal, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Ukraine, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire and Zimbabwe. I wish to thank those delegations.

I want to note that on Friday I omitted to announce that Burundi, Ghana and Oman were indeed in the Hall at 10.05 a.m.

Punctuality is important if we are to complete our work on schedule, which I am sure we all are eager to do.

ADDRESS BY MR. LEONID KRAVCHUK, PRESIDENT OF THE VERKHOVNA RADA OF UKRAINE

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, His Excellency Mr. Leonid Kravchuk.

Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, President of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, His Excellency Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President KRAVCHUK (spoke in Ukrainian; English text furnished by the delegation): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high post of President of the General Assembly. Only the most outstanding diplomats can become eligible for that honour, which is conferred upon them once in a lifetime and for just one year. Yet today a single year may see historic developments that in the past would have spanned several decades. The proclamation by our Parliament of the independence of Ukraine and of the creation of an independent Ukrainian State was the culmination of the age-old aspirations of the Ukrainian people. The date of 24 August 1991 was a turning-point opening a new era in the history of Ukraine.

Ukrainians remain grateful, Mr. President, to your predecessor, Mr. Guido de Marco of Malta, who so ably guided the work of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Last August he came on an official visit to Kiev and was the first foreign dignitary to welcome the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. We see that as a symbol of direct United Nations involvement in the sweeping process of liberation that has changed the face of the world in the second half of this century.

I join those who have welcomed the admission to the great family of the United Nations of three former Soviet republics: Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. I am convinced that their independent foreign policies within the United Nations will be vigorous and effective in promoting their own interests as well as those of the international community. I hope we will soon be able to welcome other republics of the former Union that may wish to become Members of the United Nations.

(President Kravchuk)

I should like also to add our greetings to those extended to the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

Thus, Mr. President, you are presiding over a session attended by a record number of Member-States: almost all the nations of the world are represented in this Hall today. One cannot fail to notice many things that make this session different from the first session of the General Assembly, which gathered together the representatives of the 51 founding Members, including Ukraine.

Yet the substance of the Assembly's deliberations shows that in 1991, just as in 1945, Government representatives come to United Nations Headquarters spurred by the aspirations of their peoples to peace and development, security and cooperation, human rights and justice. Representatives to the United Nations from different States share a common concern for the future of humanity rooted in the concern of each of them for the future of his or her own people, family and children. Ukrainian children affected by the Chernobyl disaster were welcomed by families in France and Germany, the United States and Australia, Cuba and Finland, Canada, Israel and other countries. Hence, coming here today on behalf of a grateful Ukraine, I can confidently speak of a triumph of the lofty human ideals embodied in the purposes and principles of the United Nations. This is a source of hope for ordinary people.

The hungry from drought-stricken Africa, the suffering fleeing from areas of military, racial or ethnic conflict, the sick fleeing from the territories affected by the Chernobyl explosion: all of them look towards the United Nations with hope in their eyes and a plea in their hearts. The recent

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United Nations pledging conference and United Nations-sponsored measures to help the victims of other emergencies prove that the hopes the United Nations inspires around the world are not unfounded. This is particularly true at a time when the Organization is, as is only logical, assuming a greater role as a universal centre for coordinating the objectives and actions of states: a time of revitalization for the United Nations.

Leaving behind the age of bitter ideological confrontation, we can finally dispense with the arms race, which has been so wasteful and, in a historical perspective, ruinous for humanity.

The implementation of the Soviet-United States Treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces, the signing of the Treaty on a 30 per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms, the Treaty on conventional forces in Europe, and the considerable progress made in drafting an international convention to prohibit and fully eliminate nuclear weapons are landmark developments of recent history which we acclaim and will promote to the best of our ability.

(President Kravchuk)

Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian thinker, said that the only way to get closer to the future was to advance towards it. The latest proposal by President Bush, supported by the leaders of the other nuclear Powers, for drastic cuts in short-range nuclear weapons is a significant step towards a more secure future. All initiatives which reduce the nuclear threat are wholeheartedly welcomed by Ukraine.

We think the United Nations should assist in extending the scope of promising reductions in military capabilities to all types of weapons and all regions and nations of the world, thus making it a universal process. In this way every country may assume its share of responsibility in world affairs, and the United Nations can alert every country to its responsibility. For each nation of the world has a sacred duty to contribute to the strengthening of international security through disarmament, through strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter and through faithful compliance with the relevant decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Ukraine for its part would like to become directly involved in the disarmament negotiating process. I believe it has a meaningful contribution to make to the solution of these problems.

The world community must not let the new opportunities presented today pass by. The non-proliferation of nuclear arms, other weapons of mass destruction and combat missiles and missile technology has become particularly relevant. Ukraine welcomes the declarations by France, China and South Africa of their decision to adhere to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty. A situation is developing in which any State's intention not to adhere to the Treaty may be regarded as contrary to the common interests of mankind.

What is the policy of Ukraine in this respect? As the Assembly knows, certain nuclear-weapon systems are at present deployed in Ukrainian

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territory. Our policy is that these nuclear weapons are only temporarily stationed in Ukraine. Eliminating them and the components of their deployment is just a matter of time. Last year our Parliament solemnly proclaimed Ukraine's intention not to participate in military blocs in the future and to comply with the three non-nuclear principles - that is, not to accept, produce or acquire nuclear weapons. The International Atomic Energy Agency secretariat has been informed of our consent to place all nuclear facilities in Ukrainian territory under the Agency's control. Ukraine does not seek to possess nuclear weapons. It intends to become a party to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear State. This intention is in line with international efforts to reduce and destroy nuclear stockpiles throughout the world. By adopting this stand, Ukraine wishes to promote disarmament and greater trust among nations.

Let me also take this opportunity to declare officially, in response to the General Assembly's appeal, that Ukraine does not produce chemical weapons, does not have them on its territory and will preserve its status of a chemical-weapons-free State. Ukraine welcomes the General Assembly's call on States to become original parties to the future convention on this subject.

On behalf of Ukraine, whose people have suffered the disastrous effects of the Chernobyl tragedy, as well as on my own behalf, I urge Governments, primarily those of the nuclear Powers, to display the political will at last to take immediate measures so that nuclear testing can be stopped for ever. I am confident that by concerted action we will be able finally to bring peace to the weary entrails of the soil beneath the test sites in Nevada, Mururoa and Novaya Zemlya, and all other places where nuclear explosions may still be rocking the Earth. It is time for us to complete the endeavour of our eminent predecessors who outlawed nuclear testing in space, in the atmosphere and

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under water way back in 1963. We can and must do this. Events in the Gulf have shown that the peace-making and peace-restoring power of the United Nations can prevail over any aggressor, without the back-up of nuclear explosions.

Rather than continue dangerously to waste their resources on terrifying arsenals of mass destruction weapons, the nations of the world must unite in order to settle existing regional conflicts, which sometimes tend to be regarded as incurable chronic ills of the second half of the twentieth century. We welcome active United Nations involvement in seeking peaceful solutions in the Middle East and launching the process of a negotiated settlement in Cambodia and Cyprus. We hail United Nations efforts to find a peaceful solution in Western Sahara. Security Council resolution 713 (1991), unanimously adopted last week, has charted a peaceful course towards solving the problems that divide the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The Organization and its Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, have spared no effort to initiate a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan on the basis of an international consensus reflected in the relevant resolution of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. If all those who can influence developments in that country were to give their earnest support to the peace-making efforts of the world community, missiles would no longer be raining down on Afghan soil and civilians in that country would no longer be terrified by machine-gun fire.

A historical parallel comes to mind as we speak of sufferings inflicted on civilian populations. Precisely half a century ago, on 30 September 1941, loudspeakers had been booming for 48 hours on end in the Ukrainian capital, blaring forth music in a cynical attempt to drown the sound of automatic fire as Nazi troops were wearily shooting the last of the Jewish women, children

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and old people in Kiev. They were the first to be buried in the mass graves of Babi Yar. Nearly 200,000 other Jews, Ukrainians, Russians and gypsies shared their lot under the occupation. Our compassionate memory owes a tribute to all these innocent victims, without distinction. Today we can no longer accept the ideological approaches of the former regime in our country, which often ended in neglect for individual rights and the rights of entire peoples. We can accept nothing less than the entire truth about the Babi Yar tragedy, where Jews were the most frequent victims of mass executions. The international commemoration of the victims of the tragedy in Babi Yar, held this week in the city of Kiev, serves as yet another reminder of our duty to make sure that genocide never happens again anywhere on Earth.

I would like to stress that today Ukraine has changed more than just the name of its country on its name plate in the Assembly Hall. It has made fundamental adjustments in its attitude to the tragic pages of its history and in its approach to a number of world issues. Thus, for example, it would have been impossible for the independent Ukraine to support, let alone co-sponsor, the resolution equating Zionism with racism - a resolution born out of a bitter ideological confrontation between the nations of the world. It is time for the United Nations to shake off the burden of the past.

Under the new circumstances top priority should be given to further consolidation and better use of the United Nations peace-making potential and to a comprehensive improvement of its organizational forms and functions.

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At the same time, there is a growing need for preventive measures and international conflict-prevention mechanisms. This would also require some reliable United Nations system for quick and timely identification of potential sources of international tension.

The world is changing. The United Nations is changing along with it, never losing track of historic developments. As the Organization approaches its fiftieth anniversary, we would welcome efforts to adapt it to new international realities. For example, this could include setting up a council of environmental safety, possibly to replace some bodies that have had their day. It is high time also that such anachronisms as a reference to "enemy States" be deleted from the United Nations Charter.

Experience suggests that timely action to adapt to new realities increases the effectiveness of an organization. In our view the best way to increase United Nations efficiency is to make full use of the potential of the Charter for consolidating security and developing comprehensive international cooperation.

We have no doubt that the nationwide referendum to be held on 1 December will endorse the parliamentary move proclaiming the independence of the State of Ukraine. Our people will do this because of their infinite desire to keep the sinister past from repeating itself, because they wish to become masters of their own homeland and to ensure stability and peace in their society. Democratic Ukraine will do justice to the millions who fell victim to famine and terror under the Stalinist regime by ensuring that social and national oppression and the abuse of human dignity never recur.

Independent Ukraine will cherish the memory of hundreds of thousands of its fellow citizens who were driven along an agonizing path out of the country on accusations of nationalism. Never again will its citizens - Ukrainians,

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Russians, Jews, Tartars, Poles, Hungarians - have to live in fear of persecution because of their natural love for their own culture, language or nation.

Independent and democratic Ukraine calls on all our compatriots in Ukraine and elsewhere to set aside old feuds and old bitternesses, and, instead to work together for the noble cause of reviving the language, culture and statehood of our people, to bring back the glorious wheat-growing and spiritually creative traditions of our past, for - as our writer Oles Honchar once stated - it was not by force of arms that Ukraine asserted itself in the community of European nations.

Having announced our independence to the world community, we wish to declare that Ukraine has no territorial claims vis-à-vis any of its neighbours and in turn it categorically rejects any attempts whatsoever to address it in a language of territorial claims.

Ukraine reiterates its commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris and confirms its intention to seek direct involvement in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) process, and membership in the European bodies.

The Ukrainian Parliament was expressing the will of the people when, as early as last year, it declared that universal human values came before the interests of any social class, and that well-established international legal standards should have priority over domestic legislation. Our State will continue to give due protection to human rights on the basis of full respect for the individual and equal treatment of national minorities.

The Ukrainian Constitution has been amended and supplemented to provide a solid legal basis for political and economic pluralism - yet another manifestation of our serious intentions and our efforts to establish a truly

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democratic society. The entire system of Ukrainian government is being overhauled to make it possible for democracy and a market economy to prevail in Ukraine.

Let me say frankly that this is not always a simple task. Mastering the science of democracy does not come easily. We seek to emulate the positive experience of other nations. Whenever Ukrainian representatives in committees of the Assembly or in the Commission on Human Rights sponsor draft resolutions on matters of social justice, the rights of minorities or the development of democratic institutions, they seek, first and foremost, to test their perceptions of social values against the universal human experience accumulated by the United Nations.

Still more important than recognition of principles is the record of implementation of those principles. We are aware of that, and therefore, as long as religious freedom in Ukraine is still at times misused to incite disputes and conflicts among those of different faiths, as long as the right of Crimean Tartars to live in dignity in the land of their ancestors cannot be fully exercised, as long as Jews in Ukraine are tempted to abandon the land of their forefathers and settle in Israel or elsewhere, as long as the Ukrainian language is not fully reinstated in its rights, as long as democratic laws and respect for the Constitution have not become standards of our thinking and practical action, we shall not hasten to tell the United Nations that our society has definitely done away with the errors and wrongdoings of the past.

But we would like to take this opportunity to declare solemnly before the United Nations and the entire world that independent, united Ukraine has irreversibly set forth on the path towards the rule of law, based on the principles of democracy and self-government, with law and nothing but law as the predominant standard of behaviour. We shall be guided by the

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high international standards in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms. And we shall follow this road every step of the way.

The newly independent Ukraine has begun to overhaul its entire economy, dismantling the command and administrative structures. Transformation of social and economic thinking, aimed at reducing State controls and promoting privatization and market relations, has been accomplished within a short period of time.

The law concerning economic independence, the concept of transition to a market economy, and the laws on free enterprise, foreign economic activities, protection of foreign investment and other fundamental statutory acts have established a solid legal framework for a sweeping restructuring of the Ukrainian economy and its incorporation into the international division of labour.

Our new legislation in Ukraine guarantees equal legal protection to all forms of ownership and provides for an independent economic policy. This will mean, in particular, that Ukraine will introduce its own currency, develop its own budget, tax and banking systems, set up a labour, investment and securities market, put foreign economic relations and scientific and technological cooperation on a legal footing, and expand bilateral and multilateral ties.

A radical reform in the Ukrainian economy does not call only for considerable domestic efforts: it also requires the promotion of foreign investment, increased cooperation and the use of the consultative assistance, know-how and experience that the international community has to offer. We welcome the attention paid by the United Nations to problems facing countries which, like Ukraine, are going through a period of transition. International

(President Kravchuk)

economic cooperation should be expanded to make full use of the potential created by the recent political transformations.

A favourable international response would make it easier for the Ukrainian economy to overcome quickly the difficulties of transition and integrate itself into the international trade system. That would also be an encouragement for our young democracy.

(President Kravchuk)

Until quite recently, Ukraine used to live isolated from the outside world, haunted by hostile spectres born out of our own ideological dogmas. Cold war clouds cast over our heads a grim shadow of a global nuclear menace.

It was not until the world community began to assert universal values, discarded adversary attitudes and extended to us a helping hand and heartfelt sympathy in the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster, and until we proclaimed the independence of Ukraine, that we discovered a world of friends. The feeling is so exciting that I could not miss this opportunity of coming here today and paying respect to the United Nations, bringing words of gratitude to the world community on behalf of our free Ukraine.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Leonid Kravchuk, President of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. DIRIA (United Republic of Tanzania): Let me first convey to you, Sir, my congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session. I am confident that your wealth of experience, skill and commitment guarantee a successful session. Your election is also a fitting tribute to your great country, Saudi Arabia, with which Tanzania enjoys excellent relations. My delegation is therefore pleased to pledge its full support and cooperation.

Your predecessor, Mr. Guido de Marco, presided over the deliberations of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly with exemplary skill and dedication. I would like to wish him all the best in his future undertakings.

(Mr. Diria, United Republic of Tanzania)

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has continued to serve the Organization with dedication and skill. Tanzania renews its support for the Secretary-General and the United Nations he so well serves.

I am delighted to join in the warm welcome extended to the newest Members of our Organization: the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia. As many speakers have observed, their membership in the United Nations brings ever closer our cherished goal of universality.

The last four years have witnessed major changes in the international system. The super-Powers have entered a new era of cooperation; and the cold war, which was central to the bipolar division of the international system since the conclusion of the Second World War, is now waning. Within the United Nations there has been exceptional cooperation among members of the Security Council. This cooperation, as symbolized by joint efforts to resolve the most recent conflict in the Gulf, has rekindled the hope that the collective security system envisaged in the Charter, but rendered impotent by the cold war, could now be revived.

The signing in December 1987 of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the cooperation of the super-Powers in resolving regional conflicts, the reunification of Germany last year, the agreement on the reduction of long-range nuclear weapons and last week's unilateral United States proposal to eliminate land- and sea-based tactical nuclear weapons have moved United States-Soviet relationships from

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the cold war to the present climate of mutual trust, confidence and cooperation.

In the past two years, significant changes have taken place in our part of the world, particularly in southern Africa. Following the release of Mr. Mandela and other poltical prisoners, and the independence of Namibia in 1990, the African National Congress of South Africa and the apartheid regime have been engaging in "talks about talks" concerning the abolition of apartheid. The South African Government has moved to repeal the notorious pillars of apartheid, namely, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Acts.

In short, global and regional developments in the last four years have produced salient features of historic significance to the structure and texture of the international system. They provide the international system with a distinctive emerging order based on universal democratic values.

My country has always stood for greater human freedom and development, as demonstrated by our opposition to colonialism, apartheid and all forms of racism, as well as our support for all efforts for development, disarmament and the protection and preservation of the environment. It is for these reasons that Tanzania values its membership in the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77.

(Mr. Diria, United Republic of Tanzania)

The existing complex international environment sets the context within which my delegation would like to reflect on the challenges to the international community.

Although the ending of East-West confrontation has fostered greater cooperation in international relations, it has not led to a quantum reduction of such major problems as the economic plight of the third world, the eradication of apartheid in South Africa, the attainment of national self-determination for the Palestinians, the return of all occupied Arab territories and the democratization of the international system. In short, the end of the cold war may have reduced the threats to international peace and security, but it has not eradicated them.

Until recently, there existed three major threats to international peace and security, namely, the East-West conflict, the North-South divide and regional conflicts. As I mentioned earlier, super-Power entente and the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe have greatly reduced the possibility of Soviet-American military confrontation. To a large extent the artificial division of Europe is coming to an end and, with it, we see the emergence of new political priorities and security structures. There is also broad international consensus on the necessity for cooperation to promote ecological security.

However, while the end of the cold war has removed the East-West axis of global politics, it has not brought about the termination of the North-South divide over development, trade and the management of the global economy.

One of the major challenges created by the conclusion of classical cold war is the continuing economic plight of the African States, including

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Tanzania. As super-Power entente and political revolution in Central and Eastern Europe occupy centre stage in the agenda of the industrialized nations, there is a danger that Africa's economic marginalization will accentuate. While the economic productivity and wealth of North America, Europe and Japan continue to increase rapidly, the economies of African and other third world countries in general are falling behind at an alarming rate. In our increasingly interdependent world the unrestrained poverty of the South is not only contradictory, but untenable.

The declining terms of trade exacerbate the problems of the non-oil-producing developing nations to cope with rises in energy prices and interest rates on their debts. For instance, on the average real interest rates were six times higher in the 1980s than in the 1970s, when most African States contracted a large share of their debts. Between 1986 and 1988 alone, the fall of commodity prices and the dramatic deterioration of the terms of trade cost Africa $50 billion.

In a seven-year period of the last decade, namely, between 1980 and 1987, the share of the developing countries in the global gross national product fell to 16.8 per cent; yet the third world is the home of two thirds of the world's population. The July 1990 report of the World Bank, entitled, "Poverty", contends that about 1 billion people in the third world are condemned to live on annual income of less than $370.

The last three decades have also witnessed the acceleration of disinvestment in Africa. The continent's share of global foreign investment fell from 5.5 per cent in 1960 to less than 2 per cent by 1990.

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The debt burden is also heavy on the African continent. Whereas in 1986 the continent had a total debt of $203.7 billion, four years later, in 1990, this had risen to $271.9 billion. Hand in hand with the increase in the volume of debt has been the debt-servicing quagmire, which has risen from 28.6 per cent of the total annual foreign-exchange earnings of the African continent to 40 per cent between 1986 and 1988.

It is indeed unacceptable that there continues to be a net capital flow from the developing countries to the industrialized nations. According to a 1990 World Bank report, developing countries paid $27.5 billion more than they received in new credits and grants. Sub-Saharan Africa alone transferred $500 million more than it received.

Compare this with the total net resource flows to Africa from the countries members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in the period 1986 to 1990 - the period of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development. Net resource flows declined from $25.9 billion in 1986 to $22.6 billion in 1989. In short, the crushing debt burden and the declining foreign-resource flows have contributed to the economic stagnation and decline of the African continent.

Tanzania applauds the decision of those countries that have cancelled debts owed to them. We hope that trend will continue.

Aid conditionalities have been a source of controversy between the donor community and recipient countries. The new conditionality linking aid to political reform exacerbates the controversy. For instance, on 15 April 1991 the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was established with the

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proviso that the acceptance of multiparty democracy and a free market would be a sine qua non for getting aid from the Bank. Tanzania has always supported humanity's quest for freedom, human rights and democracy. However, the linkage between the provision of foreign aid and the implementation of political reforms is undesirable.

Structural international inequalities are the primary sources of continued third-world poverty. In short, the new conditionality of development aid is unrealistic. It is unrealistic in the sense that the problem of democracy in Africa is much more complex; it is a problem in which the issue of political pluralism is merely one aspect of the much wider question of the transformation of the State and civil society in the African countries. Genuine and stable democracy must be indigenous, and it cannot be imposed from outside.

(Mr. Diria, United Republic of Tanzania)

I stated in my opening remarks that even without the benefit of historical hindsight, the period since 1988 will be regarded by future historians of diplomacy as a watershed in the history of southern Africa and of South Africa in particular. However, the prospects for a free non-racial and democratic South Africa must not be taken for granted. Despite the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land acts, the system of apartheid remains intact and in place.

It will be recalled that on 14 December 1989 the United Nations issued a Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in southern Africa. The Declaration lays down 10 fundamental principles which should form the basis of an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of apartheid. It lays down the conditions which the regime must satisfy in order to create the necessary atmosphere for genuine negotiations. It also establishes guidelines for negotiations. And, finally, it draws up a programme of action by the international community.

While a number of preconditions laid down in the Declaration have been satisfied, the regime has still to implement some important conditions. For example, between 30,000 and 40,000 South African exiles remain outside South Africa despite the recent agreement between the regime and the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. Similarly, not all political prisoners have been released despite continuing dialogue between the regime and the anti-apartheid forces. Additionally, as long as the present wave of violence continues to sweep the black townships, serious negotiations cannot commence. The regime has an inescapable responsibility to put an end to this carnage. We hope that the peace accord intended to put an end to the violence will hold.

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The regime pursues a negotiating strategy for the achievement of constitutional dispensation which would remove internal and international pressure against white minority rule while practically leaving apartheid intact. This strategy dates back to the 1970s and culminated with the 1983 Constitution that set up the tricameral parliament and the 1988 Promotion of Constitutional Development Act to establish a special negotiation forum with African participation. And when this failed to attract black African support, there come the Five Year Plan of Action at the National Party Federal Congress in June 1989 - a strategy skilfully publicized as heralding a new departure in Government policy. This plan forms the official foundation of the apartheid regime's present talks about talks.

All along, South Africa's strategy has been to seek a negotiated settlement; to seek power sharing without losing it; to entrench the group approach and racist policy characteristic of all previous proposals on constitutional dispensation; to have each group acquire self-determination regarding its own affairs, with joint decision-making on general matters; to have equal formal rights for each group but without the power to dominate or outvote the other groups; to have each group legally protected and retain the power to veto changes sought by other groups; and, lastly, to have a fallback position of being ready to discard almost all forms of traditional policies as long as the whites can still protect their social and economic privileges and prevent the majority from imposing major changes against their will.

Thus, the situation in South Africa is such that while the national liberation movement and other anti-apartheid forces want the power to achieve the complete eradication of apartheid, the Pretoria regime seeks, through a variety of domesic and international measures, to retain power. This partly

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explains the Pretoria regime's strategy of divide and rule, of fighting the national liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC), through Inkatha, while talking to it and setting up the so-called black-on-black violence in general.

To realize the objectives of the United Nations Declaration mentioned earlier, Tanzania supports the call for the establishment of a transitional government in South Africa that would oversee the election of a constituent assembly to formulate a democratic constitution under which a new South Africa would emerge on the basis of one-man, one-vote. Until this objective has been realized, existing sanctions must be maintained. The consensus United Nations Declaration enjoins Member States

> "To ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this Declaration".
>
> (resolution S-16/1, para. 9 (d)

In the face of the regime's manoeuvres to thwart implementation of the Declaration, the need for unity on the part of all the anti-apartheid forces is absolutely essential. We therefore welcome the decision of the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other democratic forces in South Africa to form a patriotic front, and wish them every success at their meeting next month.

The conflict in the Gulf, following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, put to rest any delusions that the end of the cold war necessarily fostered international peace and security. The conflict also demonstrated that

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effective maintenance of international peace and security requires collective action rather than unilateral action.

As a sequel to the invasion, the Palestinian question, which is the primary source of conflict and instability in the region, was relegated to the background. None the less, if the faith, trust and confidence of the Palestinian people in the United Nations is to be retained, the same speed and dedication with which the Security Council acted over the Gulf crisis should now be shown in efforts to resolve the Palestinian question, which remains an indictment of the United Nations.

The convening of an international conference on peace in the Middle East must be the utmost priority of the United Nations. Although the present United States initiative to bring the parties to negotiations is welcome, Tanzania notes with regret that the proposed conference will not fully involve the United Nations.

There can be no genuine settlement of the Palestinian question if the Palestinians are denied their legitimate right to choose their own representatives and to participate in the negotiations leading to an agreement. Tanzania therefore believes that there can be no durable peace in the Middle East without an agreement on the Palestinian question and the return of all occupied Arab territories. Any proposed talks and any settlement must be based on the inalienable right of the Palestinians to self-determination and must resolve the territorial questions, including those of the Syrian Golan Heights and the status of East Jerusalem, as provided in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It is only in this context that the wider interests of the international community for peace and security in the region will be achieved.

(Mr. Diria, United Republic of Tanzania)

The conflicts in the Horn of Africa have brought untold suffering and hardship to the people in that part of the world. In this connection, the Government of Tanzania welcomes the new provisional Government of Ethiopia.

With respect to Somalia, it is encouraging to see that the Government of Djibouti was able to convene a reconciliation meeting. Tanzania wishes to commend the Government of Djibouti for convening the meeting and hopes that the spirit of reconciliation will continue so that the Somali people can concentrate on the reconstruction of their society.

In Liberia, too, we have seen continued conflict. Thousands of people have lost their lives. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) did all it could in search of a peaceful solution. Eventually, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) decided to send a peace-keeping force, the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), to Liberia to stop the killings.

Tanzania would like to take this opportunity to commend ECOWAS for the courageous decision taken to send a peace-keeping force to Liberia.

Tanzania has always supported the OAU's efforts to resolve intra-African conflicts by peaceful means. It is the hope of my Government, therefore, that in settling their internal conflicts, both Ethiopia and Somalia will do so peacefully and will decide the future of their countries in a manner compatible with the aspirations of their peoples and those of the African continent as a whole.

Tanzania supports the advancement of genuine democratic reforms, for history has demonstrated that citizen participation in the national life is a precondition for human development. However, to be meaningful, measures for enhancing national democracy must be both indigenous and, at the same time,

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global. Reforms must be indigenous because only in this way can democratic values be sustained. The process of restructuring must be global in the sense that there must also be democratization of international relations, especially interactions within the United Nations system which are evidently the fulcrum of world politics.

Although super-Power convergence is a welcome development, and in a sense a prerequisite for the success of the United Nations in its present form, this entente equally poses new challenges for the international community. Because of their global and geopolitical interests, the super-Powers, locked into confrontation at times, played an obstructionist role in the United Nations. Yet, the newly found cooperation also poses the spectre of unipolarity which could, in turn, endanger the democratization of international relations.

If democracy is good at the national level, it must be good at the international level. There must, therefore, be the democratization of international politics by reforming the United Nations system, including the financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The promotion of a new international economic order is a prerequisite for genuine democracy.

In this process of the democratization of international relations, regional organizations and movements have a special role. This underscores the special importance of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The Non-Aligned Movement was born at the height of the cold war. This Movement has helped to de-Europeanize international relations; transcend the bloc mentality, enabling the non-aligned nations to develop their role as full participants and as mediators in a world normally presented as East or West;

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transform the international diplomatic agenda from military and security issues alone to wider questions of international economic order, including ecological and humanitarian issues; and de-emphasize the East-West conflict and confine the main theatre of the cold war to Central Europe.

The Non-Aligned Movement must, therefore, be credited for opening the way to communication and cooperation among nations separated by a profound ideological divide, and for demonstrating that multilateral diplomacy is, indeed, the singular art of producing complex answers to questions arising from humanity's quest for freedom, security, independence and economic development.

The Non-Aligned Movement continues to be relevant to us in the post-cold-war international system: in the first place, to enhance South-South political and economic cooperation; secondly, to represent third-world aspirations in world bodies, especially at the United Nations; thirdly, to fend off undue external interference in the internal affairs of third-world nations in a unipolar world; fourthly, to promote collective self-reliance as a basis for international cooperation; and, lastly, to promote South-South solidarity and coordination in all international negotiations.

After examining the state of international relations in the past few years as a result of the thaw in East-West relations and other developments, I can fairly conclude that the international system is in a state of transition to a new system for which the world community had better be prepared. That a new world order must emerge is undoubtful. But it is obvious that this new world order must be built on the principles of justice and equity, on the right of peoples to self-determination, on the sovereign equality of States,

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on respect for the territorial integrity of nations, big and small, on non-interference in the internal affairs of States, on freedom of choice and freedom from want in the process of political, social and economic development and on respect for international law.

Tanzania is quite encouraged by the improved international political climate, and history has demonstrated that nothing is unsurmountable when there is political will.

Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to convey to you, on behalf of the delegation of Egypt and on my own behalf, our sincere congratulations upon your assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly at the current session. Through you, I also congratulate your sisterly country, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, with which Egypt has strong ties and firm bonds.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

I have full confidence that with your renowned ability and experience you will guide the deliberations of this session in a manner that will allow it to address the problems of the world in harmony with the prevailing new spirit and in a manner conducive to serious dialogue and the achievement of the desired consensus towards laying the foundations of a new world.

I avail myself of this opportunity also to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Guido de Marco, Foreign Minister of Malta, President of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, for his excellent conduct of that session's business. During that session, the United Nations witnessed one of the most productive periods in its work in terms both of performance and achievement.

With the accession of new Members to the membership of the United Nations, our Organization has taken another important step on the road to universality, a goal we have all striven for since the Organization's establishment. It is with hope and optimism that we look forward to the contributions and positive participation of the new Members, which will undoubtedly enrich our collective work. From this rostrum, the delegation of Egypt would like to express its warmest congratulations to all these States.

This year's session is being held at a time when the international Organization has reached the middle of its fifth decade. During that time, it has witnessed moments of victory and moments of defeat. It has seen moments when the great hopes of the vision of a new secure world have been realized. It has also lived through moments of frustration and repeated failure to attain the noble objectives of the United Nations Charter, which were consecrated as a basis for a new life for peoples and nations.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

In the lives of peoples and nations there are moments and events which constitute decisive turning-points. We may fail to grasp the essence of such events because of their overwhelming magnitude. What has happened, and continues to happen, in our international life from not long ago until now represents, by any objective criterion, the emergence of a new pattern of relations which will undoubtedly reflect upon the work, structure and performance of the United Nations.

The world we see today is moving closer to that great vision of the founding Members, to that vision of the peoples of the United Nations when they declared their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

The report the Secretary-General presented to this session reinforces our faith in the potential and ability of the United Nations system to move the world to new levels of peace, stability and security for all, to take the world to a stage where it would reaffirm, through the United Nations, the provisions of the Charter - probably for the first time in its history - by using the machinery of collective security to deter aggression and to restore international peace and security, thus allowing the United Nations to be a model and provide terms of reference for us all in our adherence to international legitimacy in all situations and in all conflicts, whatever their locations and their backgrounds may be.

The peoples and nations have paid a heavy price over 50 years of trial and effort to ensure that the vision expressed by the founding Members in San Francisco was not an unrealistic dream but rather an achievable, legitimate human wish. The only things that prevented that vision from coming

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into being were the chains and shackles which reined in the freedoms of the individual and the peoples. Those bonds chained human creative abilities. In a few months, the thought, the practice and the very systems of totalitarianism collapsed. The waves of intellectual, political and economic freedom are on the rise, and racist regimes and discriminatory practices shall retreat so that development may prevail among peoples in every corner of our planet.

Egypt, that ancient country as old as history itself, which saw the dawn of human civilization and on whose land the creative energy of mankind was first released, early sensed the winds of change. It was among the first States to foresee the new changes and, in fact, to predict and contribute to them. As a founding member of the world order in which we live today, Egypt will contribute, with an open mind and an enlightened sense of history, to the establishment of the new world. Egypt will do so just as it contributed, during the decades of its leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement, to the search for a world free of the cold war and of polarization and division, a world in which the freedoms of individuals and peoples would reign supreme.

The world we envisage through the eyes of our age-old civilization and our modern-day hopes is a world in which democracy and human rights would prevail, a world based on the equality of rights and responsibilities and on equal participation in decision-making. The new order for which we are working is not the sole responsibility of any one State or group of States. Rather, it is the responsibility of one and all, North and South, East and West, and must be to the benefit of all and protect the rights of all.

This, in our opinion, necessitates that the peoples and the States of the world take their stand on the right side of history: a stand on the side of justice, legitimacy and the rule of law, which are indispensable for laying

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the foundations of peace, security and stability. The reawakening which we are witnessing in the world around us strongly expresses the aspirations of peoples to assert their identities and to exercise their national rights, and the search for new standards in political life that would achieve what is right and just for all peoples without distinction or discrimination. Human rights and the rights of peoples transcend colour, race, and religious belief. They are not the monopoly of a certain nation nor are they the exclusive property of any one people. This is precisely what should be the meaning of the new world order whose features are evolving.

The practical expression of this reawakening lies in a concerted international effort to lay the foundations of peace in places where it has not yet been achieved: in the Middle East, South Africa, Afghanistan, Cyprus, Western Sahara, Cambodia and other areas of tension. Fortunately, persistent efforts are being exerted towards achieving settlements.

The Middle East has witnessed during the last few months and continues to witness persistent and serious efforts to advance the peace process from the stage of consultation to that of negotiation. There is no doubt that this is a sensitive stage: it needs patience, vision, and the ability to overcome obstacles, eliminate hurdles and dispel doubts. Moreover, it requires that all demonstrate sincere political will and good faith, which will chart a course and allow freedom of action. It is important to me, in this regard, to commend the initiative of the United States, launched by President Bush, to convene a Middle East peace conference, in the framework of which direct negotiations would be held on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and the principle of land for peace.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

With the recent major international developments, the Arab-Israeli conflict, with the Palestinian question at its core, has entered a new phase. The world is moving towards the settlement of disputes through dialogue and negotiation based on respect for international legitimacy, the principles of international law and the provisions of the Charter. The world is also showing greater respect for the will of peoples which yearn for freedom, independence.

In this regard, Egypt considers the recent decisions of the Palestinian National Council an important step on the road to peace. They constitute a positive contribution by the representative of the Palestinian people to the current peace process. The importance of such a contribution is very clear in view of the Palestinians' being a principal party in that process.

We aspire to create a favourable climate free from threats to the future of the settlement of the conflict. In all honesty and with a sense of responsibility, we affirm that the continuation of or the persistence in undertaking measures that destroy confidence and sow despair will only lead to a continuation of the vicious circle for years to come, hence exacerbating the causes of instability. During such a period the causes of instability will be further exacerbated. The whole Middle East will thus continue to be a hotbed of perpetual tension and confrontation.

Hence, persistence in the policy and practice of the constructing settlements in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, including Al-Quds and the Golan Heights, has a negative effect on the prospects for peace, as it attempts to entrench an illegal fait accompli that constitutes a violation of law and legitimacy.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

Israel's persistence in pursuing its settlement policies will result in a shattering of the principle of "land for peace", as well as violating the letter and spirit of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), thus undermining international legitimacy. President Hosni Mubarak's initiative called for a halt in the building of settlements in exchange for a halt of the Arab economic boycott measures. This initiative still stands, and today I reaffirm it.

Sincere progress towards peace would necessitate, first and foremost, the immediate cessation of these policies and practices and the undertaking of measures that would restore the shaken confidence of all parties, so that the peace process can start in a favourable atmosphere. We have reached a decisive moment that now requires firm political will and courage. We call upon all to back the convening of the peace conference and the negotiations that will take place in its framework. We urge all to support the principle of "land for peace", and the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and the security of all parties.

The will of the world, which backed, defended and imposed international legitimacy during the Gulf crisis, is called upon to fully understand all the dimensions of the situation in the Middle East in order to place it in its proper perspective within the context of the movement of today's world towards justice and legitimacy.

We have drawn many lessons from the Gulf crisis, not the least of which is that economic interdependence is closely linked to security interdependence and that security should be taken seriously in the context of global and regional legitimacy. On this premise, eight Arab countries have agreed, in the framework of the Damascus Declaration, on a specific mutual-security

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arrangement among the Gulf States, Egypt and Syria. This arrangement is based on the instruments of joint Arab action and aims to lay the foundations of security on a cherished part of Arab land, on new bases of consensus and understanding, and on the firm determination to prevent the recurrence of what happened when Iraq invaded Kuwait. This grave error, which was a blow to the Arab system, also had serious repercussions on the international system. In this context, we reaffirm that the security of the Gulf region is part of Arab security, and that Arab security is part of international security.

It is imperative to affirm and uphold the integration and interdependence of regional and international legitimacies. Today's world is different from that of yesterday. It is actively on the march towards new wider and developing horizons. It is impossible, while this is the case, for a particular region to remain cocooned and to continue marching at a different pace, or to be isolated from world reality, burying its head in the sand, believing that it can remain secure from accountability and questioning.

On the other hand, the issue of security is closely linked with that of arms control and disarmament. This is a global endeavour with regional dimensions. As to the Middle East, the elimination of weapons of mass destruction is of prime importance. In this context, I reaffirm Egypt's initiative, declared by President Hosni Nubarak, for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and especially nuclear weapons, from the region.

The elimination of weapons of mass destruction, the ideal formula for the security of the whole region, cannot be achieved but through an integrated, comprehensive framework applicable to all without exception or distinction. Such a framework must correct imbalances and eliminate quantitative and qualitative differences.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

We are aware that historic successes in the field of disarmament were not achieved until the political environment was changed. Confrontation has been turned into dialogue, conflict into cooperation and suspicion into trust. Our region has its specific characteristics and its own political reality, which we cannot overlook but ought to change with responsible action by all parties without exception. The first such responsible action, which will constitute a sound step towards confidence-building, is the accession by Israel to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the full placing of all her nuclear installations under a safeguard regime.

The historic step, declared by President Bush a few days ago, of the United States' decision to relinquish her short-range nuclear weapons deserves our appreciation and welcome, both for its significance and for its far-reaching effects on efforts for arms control and disarmament, as well as for the strong impetus it gives to the new world order. Egypt feels satisfied that this initiative is receiving positive responses on the international level, and hopes that it may generate positive reaction on the regional level as well, with respect to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, especially in such areas of conflict as the Middle East.

The success and effectiveness of our Organization in laying the foundations of political settlements in Africa, Asia, Central America and even Europe were based on historic reconciliations between the parties, founded upon respect for the principles of international law, human rights, democracy, dialogue, negotiation, accommodation, and the utilization of the means of peaceful settlement of disputes. We cannot overlook the fact that the settlement of these disputes evolved, in no small measure, from the emergence of healthy democratic practices and the elimination of the odious differences

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

resulting from racial discrimination. In this respect, we call upon South Africa to abolish, totally and unequivocally, apartheid and all its pillars, so that healthy and proper relations may be established with South Africa and the international community may consider lifting the sanctions imposed upon the country.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

If we truly wish to lay equitable foundations for tomorrow's world, the international community is called upon today to carry out a comprehensive review - conducted in a spirit of realism, dialogue, and shared responsibility - of international economic conditions. There is a need for a coordinated collective effort to arrive at a general framework for macroeconomic policies to restore balanced growth to the world economy and to revitalize development in the developing countries. The aim must be to ensure the full and active participation of the third world as a full partner, with equal rights and responsibilities, in the establishment of the new world order.

In order to achieve this, we must not lose sight of certain fundamental considerations. First, Africa, which constitutes a quarter of the world's land mass and whose population will represent one fifth of the world population by the end of this century, is facing an extremely serious situation, the consequences of which will go beyond the continent itself. History will not absolve us if we enter the twenty-first century with a continent of such great potential as Africa continuing to languish under the burdens of backwardness and poverty, with millions of its children dying of hunger and malnutrition. However prosperous some parts of our world may be, it will remain a poor world as long as Africa and other parts remain poor.

It is our hope that a full sense of this responsibility will be reflected in our review and appraisal of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development during this session. The Secretary-General's report provides a good basis for action in this regard. With the help of the data, information and suggestions it contains, we hope it will be possible to arrive at viable solutions that will enable Africa to embark on the road leading out of the abyss of underdevelopment and poverty.

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

Secondly, the international economic system is going to witness major changes emerging from the formation of large economic groupings in the North and the modest attempts at building regional economic groupings in the South, in addition to the dramatic changes taking place in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. At the same time, the largest part of the third world languishes under the burden of debt. It lacks technical and financial resources. It suffers from the imbalance of economic structures and from social disturbances, the deterioration of the rates of development, and the unjust terms of international trade. All this makes the world market as a whole more fragile. A biased view of the world economy threatens the onset of imbalances, the dangerous potential consequences of which make it incumbent upon the international community as a whole to show political will and adopt responsible economic policies to cure its ailing sections and save the healthy parts from infection.

Thirdly, human rights have become a basic issue on the international agenda. There is no disagreement today between developing and developed countries on the need for respect for human rights both domestically and internationally or on the obligation of States to ensure the basic freedoms of the individual, regardless of country of origin, race, religious faith or political affiliation. Yet human rights cannot be addressed in isolation from people's daily living conditions. This brings to the fore the direct link between human rights and socio-economic development. A balance must be struck between these two sides of the equation in a context encompassing international relations as a whole.

Fourthly, the problems of the environment, which are of global dimensions, should be solved through international cooperation within a

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

balanced framework that takes into account the requirements of development in the developing countries and ensures that any measures to protect the global environment support the socio-economic development process of the developing countries. We hope that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Brazil in 1992, will mark the beginning of a comprehensive international effort and a joint programme of action for the protection of the environment and the achievement of development.

The achievement of development in all its dimensions would be incomplete without adequate attention to human development, primarily in the field of child care and the implementation of the Universal Declaration of the World Summit for Children.

If the new world order is to achieve political and economic stability, it must be founded upon close interaction between the developing world on the one hand, with its capabilities, potentials, resources, and rich historical heritage, and the developed world on the other, with all its achievements, contributions, experience and major scientific endeavours. This interaction must be a balanced and equal process in which the development of both sides goes hand in hand, their steps are harmonized, and their interests equally guaranteed.

From this perspective, based on the interdependence and integration of international relations, Egypt submits its approach towards a framework relating to the developed and developing world in terms of their objectives, issues and interests. First, Egypt calls for the establishment of a common forum that would group under its aegis the Non-Aligned Movement and all the developing countries, known as the Group of 77, for their commonality of interest and the closeness of their objectives and priorities. This forum

(Mr. Moussa, Egypt)

would represent a new unified movement for all the nations of the third world in the emerging order of this last decade of the twentieth Century.

Secondly, Egypt calls for genuine concrete support for the United Nations in the new international relations through the enhancement of its operational effectiveness and the development of its mechanisms as instruments for the maintenance of international peace and security, and for the implementation of its resolutions, which all represent international legitimacy.

Thirdly, Egypt reaffirms the close interlinkage and interdependence of regional and global security in all cases of stability or tension. Geography is no longer a principal factor of security. It no longer distances regions or ensures the inviolability of States. Sheer power in the hands of a few does not guarantee peace for all.

The new order dawning upon our modern era will not be one whose parts are estranged or alienated, but rather a world whose regions - be they large or small, developed or developing - will come closer together in a framework of deeper relations, integrated security systems, comprehensive peace, equal justice, balanced and sustained development. If our determination is strong and sincere, the new world order will mark the beginning of a new history for mankind. And a new beginning it must be.

Mr. KANJU (Pakistan): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I extend to you, my dear brother, the sincere felicitations of the Pakistan delegation on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session. Your election to this high office is a befitting tribute to the outstanding role played on the world stage by your great country, from where the light of Islam spreads to the entire globe. It is also a recognition of your diplomatic skills and qualities of statesmanship

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that have won admiration in many parts of the world, and, in particular in the councils of the United Nations. We in Pakistan recall with great fondness the time when we had the privilege of having you as the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.*

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* Mr. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Kanju, Pakistan)

Pakistan is bound to Saudi Arabia in close brotherly ties which encompass common faith, shared values and common history. We are confident that, with your vast experience and consummate skills, you will successfully guide the deliberations of this important session of the General Assembly.

I should also like to convey our deep appreciation and esteem to your predecessor, Mr. Guido de Marco, Foreign Minister of Malta, who conducted the proceedings of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly with great distinction and success.

I take this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, for his unceasing efforts to promote international peace and harmony and uphold the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. He has addressed world problems with a deep sense of purpose. The world community owes him a profound debt of gratitude for his untiring endeavours in strengthening the foundations of peace and security around the world.

It is a matter of particular happiness for my delegation to welcome seven States as new Members of the United Nations. The presence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of Marshall Islands in our midst is indeed a historic occasion. This is a testimony to the universality and the growing strength of our Organization. On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, I would extend our warm congratulations to the delegations of those countries as they assume their membership of the world body.

The historic transformation sweeping the globe has generated a blend of sanguine expectations and serious concerns. While the world has witnessed the end of the ideological confrontation between the two super-Powers, heralding

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an era of mutual collaboration and accommodation, it has also experienced a devastating military conflict in the Persian Gulf. The security of small States continues to be threatened and armed conflicts continue to fester in various regions of the world. There is no justification, therefore, for complacency.

Real peace and progress can be ensured only if States, big and small, abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter, settle their disputes peacefully and advance international cooperation to accelerate the economic progress of the developing countries. The major Powers have a special responsibility to respect and promote the principle of sovereign equality. It would indeed be tragic if the end of the cold war witnessed the birth of another era of international tensions on account of the hegemonic ambitions of major regional Powers. We should work for a new world order based on equity, justice and progress reflecting the collective aspirations of mankind.

The United Nations has a central role to play in such a world order by ensuring respect for the principles and purposes of its Charter and the faithful implementation of its resolutions. We espouse a faith which stands for peace and forbids wars of aggression. The Holy Koran says:

> "Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you; but do not begin the hostilities; for Allah does not approve of aggression". (The Holy Koran, II:190)

Pakistan will continue to make its contribution to the promotion of peace and the strengthening of the United Nations in the realization of its objectives.

Pakistan welcomes the relaxation of international tensions, the universal movement towards democracy, the upsurge of economic liberalism, the serious pursuit of arms control and the growing respect for the deep-seated urge of

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peoples for the exercise of their right to self-determination. These fundamental changes have created a salutary environment for resolving conflicts that still persist as a legacy of the cold war and the colonial period. Unfortunately, Pakistan's own sincere quest for durable peace and stability in South Asia has foundered on the unconstructive attitude adopted by India on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

The people of Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir have risen to demand their inalienable right to self-determination - a right solemnly pledged to the Kashmiri people by India, Pakistan and the international community in the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations. It is with a deep sense of anguish that I report to this Assembly that occupied Jammu and Kashmir remains in the throes of a profound human tragedy.

The United Nations Security Council and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan have prescribed in their resolutions that the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir must be decided in accordance with the will of the people, expressed through a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations. I should like to draw attention, in particular, to Security Council resolution 47 (1948), adopted on 21 April 1948, and the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949. Both India and Pakistan, as parties to the dispute, are bound by those resolutions, which continue to be valid and operative. The Simla Agreement of 1972 between India and Pakistan categorically acknowledged that Kashmir was an outstanding issue that remained to be settled.

Since January 1990 the situation in Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir has greatly deteriorated. The sufferings of innocent Kashmiri men, women and

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children at the hands of Indian security forces have increased beyond measure. Even Indian human rights organizations and media have acknowledged the grave human rights violations by Indian forces in the occupied territory. During the last 21 months over 5,000 innocent civilians have been killed. A determined effort is under way to terrorize and suppress the people. Dawn to dusk curfews, house-to-house searches, torture, arbitrary detention and gang rapes of women are daily occurrences in the valley. Despite the deployment of nearly half a million Indian military and paramilitary forces in Kashmir, the indigenous, widespread uprising continues to gather momentum, reflecting the resolve of the people of Kashmir to secure their inalienable right to self-determination. Pakistan cannot remain a silent spectator of the sufferings of the Kashmiri people, a people with which we are linked by unbreakable bonds of religion, history, kinship and culture.

Human rights violations do not take place in a vacuum. They stem from failure to find a peaceful solution to political problems. Human rights violations that have occurred in Palestine, South Africa and other parts of the world are a result of the inability of the international community to redress the political problems inherent in these situations. This also applies to Kashmir, where the political problem continues to fester because of the failure of the international community to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions.

The uprising in Indian-occupied Kashmir is entirely indigenous and spontaneous. India's attempts to attribute the turmoil to interference by Pakistan are both self-serving and misleading. As an earnest of our good faith, we had proposed to India the establishment of a neutral mechanism, such as the stationing of impartial international observers, along the Line of

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Control to monitor, survey and investigate the situation and reach independent conclusions. India has not accepted this offer - thus exposing the hollowness of its allegations.

While we rejcice with those who have gained freedom, we cannot ignore the plight of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The international community must exert moral and political pressure on India to desist from the use of force and allow the people of Kashmir to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination. It is only through the uniform enforcement of the decisions of the Security Council that faith in the United Nations as an instrument of international peace and security can be preserved. A selective approach to the settlement of disputes would impair the image and stature of the world body.

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Pakistan is committed to a peaceful settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions and in the spirit of the Simla agreement. For that purpose, we have consistently expressed our willingness to engage India in a constructive and meaningful dialogue.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan sent a special envoy to India in August 1991 conveying the hope that Pakistan and India would settle all bilateral disputes peacefully. It is our conviction that the resolution of the Kashmir issue would pave the way for a new era in which tension and confrontation would be replaced by harmony and cooperation between the two neighbouring countries.

The heroic struggle of the Afghan people succeeded in freeing their homeland from foreign occupation. It also contributed to the current resurgence of freedom and democracy in the world. But Afghanistan remains in the grip of a continuing armed conflict. Recent developments in the region have, however, brightened the prospects for a just political settlement. Efforts must now be intensified so that peace can be restored in Afghanistan and so that millions of Afghan refugees can return to their homes in safety and honour. The essential element of any settlement in Afghanistan must necessarily remain the transfer of power from the present dispensation in Kabul to a broad-based government representing the will and aspirations of the Afghan people.

Pakistan has emphatically reiterated its commitment to a comprehensive political settlement of the Afghanistan problem and has embarked on a series of initiatives. We have held extensive consultations with the countries concerned, namely Iran, Saudi Arabia, the United States and the Soviet Union.

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We have also fully supported the efforts of the Secretary-General. Pakistan and Iran have also resolved to work together with the Afghan mujahidin in a trilateral framework to promote the peace process.

The Secretary-General's five-point proposal, announced on 21 May 1991, provides a set of guiding principles which could form the basis of a possible settlement in Afghanistan. We favour a package plan of understandings on all the elements of the proposal. While we welcome the recent United States-Soviet decision to terminate weapon supplies to all Afghan parties by 1 January 1992, it is important that the intervening period should be utilized to facilitate agreements on the remaining points, especially on a transition mechanism, which is the heart of the Secretary-General's proposal. Understandings should also be worked out on arrangements for the election of the future Government of Afghanistan, a cease-fire and the return of the Afghan refugees.

Pakistan has been providing shelter and succour to over 3 million Afghan refugees for more than 12 years. They have chosen to face the privations and rigours of exile rather than expose themselves to the insecurity and uncertainties caused by the conflict in their homeland. The recent decline in international humanitarian assistance has not only exacerbated the hardships for the Afghan refugees, but has also put an unusually heavy strain on our already meagre resources. We call upon the international community to continue to fulfil its humanitarian obligations until favourable conditions have been created for the voluntary return of the refugees to their homeland.

I would like to express our deep appreciation for the ceaseless efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative in the quest for a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan problem. I would also like

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to commend the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the important role he has played in providing relief and assistance for the Afghan refugees.

The conflict in the Persian Gulf dealt a grievous blow to the cause of regional peace and cooperation. Pakistan took a principled position on the issue consonant with the relevant Security Council resolutions. At the same time, we made serious efforts for a peaceful and honourable solution of the problem. For that purpose, the Prime Minister of Pakistan undertook visits to 12 Islamic countries and sent special envoys to 13 other countries. The armed conflict extracted a heavy toll in human losses and caused colossal material destruction. Pakistan believes that it is time to put the bitterness of war behind us and open a new chapter of friendship and cooperation.

Pakistan adheres firmly to the belief that there can be no stable peace in the Middle East without the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and the restitution of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to establish a State of their own in Palestine.

The courageous and valiant uprising of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has demonstrated clearly that a people determined to secure its freedom and independence cannot be held back through repression.

We hope that the recent initiatives for the convening of an international peace conference on Palestine, with the participation of the parties concerned, including the Palestinians, would lead to a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East.

The problem of Cyprus remains a matter of concern for all of us. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General to resolve the Cyprus question in accordance with Security Council resolution 649 (1990).

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Pakistan has been following with keen interest the initiative of the five permanent members of the Security Council on the issue of Cambodia. We are confident that their efforts, and those of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), will prove fruitful in resolving this issue on the basis of the free exercise of the will of the Cambodian people. We welcome the fact that Cambodia is represented in the General Assembly by the delegation of the Supreme National Council headed by His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

Recent developments in South Africa constitute steps in the right direction, but fall short of the complete elimination of apartheid. The international community has an obligation to extend wholehearted support to the struggle of the people of South Africa for self-determination and majority rule. The sanctions imposed against the Pretoria regime should continue to be applied until the complete elimination of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule in South Africa have been achieved.

The changed global situation has underscored the importance of regional economic cooperation. Pakistan is resolved to give further depth and substance to regional cooperation through the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and the Economic Cooperation Organization.

Pakistan has consistently promoted the cause of international peace and security and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. We are therefore gratified at the conclusion of the strategic arms reduction Treaty (START) between the United States and the Soviet Union. Pakistan particularly welcomes the recent announcement by President Bush of bold and far-reaching measures encompassing, inter alia, the elimination of land- and sea-based tactical nuclear weapons.

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These measures represent a major advance in the process of nuclear disarmament and call for an appropriate response from all concerned Powers. It is our expectation that this process will eventually lead to the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Until then, effective and legally binding international arrangements must be worked out to assure all non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons.

We support the early conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. Pending the conclusion of such a treaty, nuclear-test-ban agreements could be arrived at among regional States in different parts of the world. Those regional agreements would not only act as important confidence-building measures but would also facilitate the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

Pakistan supports the early conclusion of a comprehensive convention on the total prohibition of chemical weapons. We also stand for the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

Global disarmament efforts should be supplemented by disarmament measures at the regional level. A regional approach offers the most realistic prospect for meaningful progress towards disarmament, since threat perceptions and security concerns vary from region to region. This approach is steadily gaining ground, as evidenced by the adoption of a resolution on regional disarmament by an overwhelming majority at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

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Negotiations for conventional disarmament at the global and regional levels must also be pursued vigorously, especially because of the increase in the sophistication and destructive power of conventional weapons. Naval disarmament has become an equally important objective, because of the rapid augmentation of the naval power of some States. The acquisition of aircraft carriers and nuclear-powered submarines by some regional States is a cause of grave concern to their smaller neighbours.

Pakistan has proposed a number of disarmament measures to strengthen peace and stability in south Asia. We believe that a regional approach to non-proliferation, based on the principles of equality and non-discrimination, is the most feasible and effective means of resolving the nuclear issue in south Asia. In addition to several proposals made to India since 1974 to keep our region free of nuclear weapons, including the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, the Prime Minister of Pakistan recently put forward three important proposals for arms control and nuclear non-proliferation in south Asia. These proposals call for: first, consultations by the United States, the Soviet Union and China with India and Pakistan to ensure nuclear non-proliferation in south Asia; secondly, bilateral arrangements or a regional regime for the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction in south Asia; and, thirdly, a mutual and balanced reduction of forces in south Asia consistent with the principle of equal and undiminished security at the lowest level of armaments.

We are encouraged by the positive response to our proposals by many countries. We hope that India will also respond positively, particularly to the proposal for five-nation consultations for a nuclear non-proliferation regime in south Asia.

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Nuclear non-proliferation in south Asia is a vital condition for regional peace, security and progress. The proposals made by our Prime Minister are in keeping with the spirit of the times and reflect our genuine desire that the south Asian countries should concentrate their efforts on economic development through the diversion of resources currently allocated to defence to developmental purposes.

The question of arms transfers should be considered within the overall context of conventional arms control, taking into account the indigenous defence production capabilities of different countries as well as their legitimate security concerns.

Each country has the sovereign right to determine its own legitimate defence needs. Many small and medium-sized States, lacking indigenous defence production capabilities, are obliged to depend upon international transfers of arms to meet their essential security needs. In some cases, threats to their security emanate from neighbouring States with large indigenous defence production capabilities. Obviously, the denial of the acquisition of arms through international transfers would endanger the security of such small and vulnerable States. This would have a destabilizing effect on international peace and security. It is essential, therefore, to ensure that controls on arms transfers do not create or perpetuate dangerous regional imbalances.

The world stands on the threshold of an era of great promise and hope. The prospects of lasting peace are more real today than at any time during the past many decades. But for many people in the third world this peace is distant and irrelevant. While the incidence of death by bullets may have declined, the number of victims of deprivation continues to rise. Illiteracy, disease, malnourishment, unemployment and destitution are on the increase. We

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see in painful detail, day after day, the horror of human poverty. This is not real peace.

The 1980s have been described as the decade lost to development. If corrective action is not taken, it may well spawn a lost generation by the year 2000. According to some estimates, the industrialized world today consumes $6 trillion more of income annually than at the beginning of the 1980s. Over the same period it reduced its annual aid to the developing world by $4 billion. Worst still, its net resource transfers to these countries, taking account of interest payments, became negative. In 1990 alone the negative transfer of resources from the developing to developed countries amounted to $39 billion.

The Declaration (S-18/3) adopted at the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly provided an agreed platform for common action. It encompassed commitments by the developed and developing countries to enhance international economic cooperation and to revitalize growth and development. In the spirit of the Declaration, many third-world countries have taken wide-ranging measures to enhance efficiency in economic management. Concrete steps have been taken by their Governments to liberalize their economies, roll back State intervention and promote trade and investment.

In Pakistan, too, the Government of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif has launched a programme of comprehensive economic reforms involving privatization and deregulation with a view to encouraging economic activity in a liberal framework. These reforms, unprecedented in Pakistan's history, are aimed at stimulating and encouraging market forces as the main engine of economic growth. In accordance with its policy of self-reliance, the Government is focusing on the promotion of exports and foreign investment in the country.

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Regrettably, the international economic environment remains heavily weighted against the developing countries. The industrialized countries have not matched with concrete steps the reform measures being taken in the third world. Our efforts at fostering growth and development continue to be stonewalled by the denial of market access, dwindling resource flows, absence of foreign investment and a crushing debt burden. Rapid action aimed at resolving these problems is imperative. A special effort will have to be made to ensure a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round, which remains deadlocked on a number of key issues.

Close partnership is also necessary to counter the escalating threat of environmental degradation. The international community must evolve a comprehensive strategy for addressing this grave problem. The responsibilities and obligations of both the developed and the developing countries were clearly spelt out in resolution 44/228. A truly universal compact on the environment will have to incorporate the developmental dimension. The commitments involving the transfer of additional resources and environmentally sound technologies to the developing countries will, therefore, have to be honoured in full. It is the sincere hope of the Pakistan delegation that preoccupation with short term gains will be resisted and that the course which we had set before us at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly will be pursued earnestly.

The current session of the General Assembly is taking place at a crucial moment in the history of the United Nations. The role of the world body in achieving the independence of Namibia, promoting peace in Central America, reversing aggression in the Gulf and settling regional disputes has earned for it the respect and gratitude of the international community. While we rejoice

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at these successes, we expect a more forceful contribution from the United Nations in fostering economic growth and development in the third world. This is clearly not a task beyond our reach. If bitter adversaries of yesteryear can become willing partners of today, it is not too much to hope that the immense resources of the world will be utilized for mankind's collective well-being. Only thus will we be able to lay the foundations of everlasting peace and universal prosperity.

Mr. SKUBISZEWSKI (Poland): I should like to convey to Ambassador Samir Shihabi the congratulations of Poland on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. It is with particular pleasure that I welcome in this high office a representative of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, one of the founding Members of the Organization. To the outgoing President, Mr. Guido de Marco of Malta, whom Poland was pleased to host recently, warm thanks are due for his remarkable leadership of the forty-fifth session. I also wish to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, our respect for and appreciation of his dedicated decade-long service to the United Nations. We pay a tribute to him for his achievements.

It is with special gratification that I welcome in our midst seven new Members of the Organization: the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and the Baltic Republics - Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It is to be hoped that the admission of the two Korean States will prove to be helpful in unifying the Korean nation. As to the Baltic countries, I wish to say that the new Government of Poland has always supported the aspirations of these old nations to regain their independence. We are happy that the tragic chapter of their history has now finally been closed.

Since the last session of the General Assembly, democracy has been consolidated in Central and Eastern Europe. Recent events in the Soviet Union and the opposition to and failure of the coup d'état have proved that democratic transformations are irreversible.

Throughout the Gulf conflict, and after it, the Security Council and the international community at large have been upholding the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. This marks a watershed in the history

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of our Organization and in international relations. The action of the United Nations reaffirms the primacy of international law, sovereignty and equality of States, democratic values and respect for human rights.

Yet we have to make a great and systematic effort. In particular, conflicts and tensions that were, in a sense, immobilized or stabilized by the cold war should not be permitted to erupt. The community of nations faces formidable challenges regarding international security and the construction of the economic foundations of security. These tasks reflect the growing weight of North-South relationships, including their East-South component. The reactivation of growth in the developing countries and the reorientation of the economies of the new European democracies towards market rules are of paramount importance. The now defunct East-West confrontation must not be superseded by a feud originating in tensions which are being bred by underdevelopment. In particular, the model of world trade must change: protectionism is wrong for consumers and, in the final analysis, is harmful for producers. The fragmentation of the world economy into rival blocs is of no advantage to anybody. The contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade must strive to reach a prompt and satisfactory conclusion to the Uruguay Round.

The success of the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe is likely to constitute a useful example for some States of other continents to study and follow. Our success will lead to expanding market opportunities for the products of the South.

The experience of the Gulf conflict should lead to the consolidation of the Organization. First of all, we should maintain the effectiveness of the Security Council. We need an imaginative approach - peace-keeping operations

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should be followed by peacemaking. While some provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter still await implementation, parallel means must be devised to allow the United Nations to prevent and discourage aggression, control arms build-ups and solve humanitarian and ecological problems resulting from armed conflict. The United Nations system no doubt needs reform in order to serve better the interests of Member States in a cost-effective manner. We support the concept of a unitary United Nations.

The consensus of the permanent members of the Security Council and their determination to discourage the threat or use of force are essential factors in creating a workable, post-cold-war international order. That order must, in the first place, be able to prevent conflicts. And when there has been a breach of the peace, the new order must provide for conflict and post-conflict management. The lesson of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is clear: we need more than mere deterrence.

Poland agrees fully with the Secretary-General that there should be arrangements for alleviating the burdens incurred by countries which participate in economic measures against the offender State. Some of that State's economic partners may suffer considerably as a result of abiding by the decisions of the Organizaion. It is clear that Article 50 of the Charter does not constitute a sufficient remedy. While that Article could be strengthened, another regulation dealing with a different aspect of security arrangements has long since become obsolete and should be deleted from the Charter. I refer here to Article 107 and the relevant part of Article 53. These provisions deal with the action - that is, Article 107, and, in particular, enforcement action - that is, Article 53, paragraph 1, to be taken "in relation to any State which during the Second World War has been an enemy

(Mr. Skubiszewski, Poland)

of any signatory" of the United Nations Charter. The category of "enemy State", which goes back to 1945, is no longer relevant in United Nations law and practice. These are anachronistic provisions which do not correspond to the legal and political reality of the Organization. Article 107 is in Chapter XVII of the Charter, which describes its subject matter as "transitional". In fact, we have that transition behind us. I am convinced that there is consensus in the Assembly that these provisions should be struck out of the Charter and relegated to where they belong - that is, to history.

In this period of change, we should ask not only what this Organization can do for us, but also what the Member States could and should do to turn the Organization into an instrument of their dynamic policies in harmony with the Charter.

International security begins with good relations with neighbours. The recent historical change in Polish-German relations is our common contribution to security in Europe and in the world. I pay a tribute to those Poles and Germans whose imagination and perseverance made this change possible and lasting.

We are doing our best to develop the creative process of interaction in Europe. New regional arrangements have a role to fulfil here: trilateral coooperation between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary; Baltic cooperation; and the Hexagonale group. The functions of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe are essential and they are expanding. All this reflects the determination to build cooperative security in Europe.

(Mr. Skubiszewski, Poland)

Armaments are a problem of our time. The limitation and monitoring of international arms transfers ought to be among the gears of conflict prevention and post-conflict management. We need an enhanced transparency in conventional arms transactions, especially in unstable and conflict-prone areas. Transparency would help to set up a kind of early warning system. Poland supports the initiative of the 12 member States of the European Community to establish a United Nations-administered register of conventional arms transfers. We are prepared to join in sponsoring an appropriate draft resolution.

However, to be reliable the new international order must involve not only a check on the accumulation of arms; it must also stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of missile technology. An important step towards such a goal would be the prompt finalization of the convention on chemical weapons, and the enhancement of the effectiveness of the biological weapons convention. Wide adherence to the non-proliferation Treaty is of the utmost importance. We welcome the recent statements by France and China and some other nuclear-capable countries, including the Republic of South Africa, that they are willing to re-examine their attitude with respect to that Treaty. Experience resulting from the Gulf conflict indicates, in regard to the non-proliferation Treaty, that the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency should be further developed.

The Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and the strategic arms reduction Treaty (START) are big steps towards structuring global security. Recently there was a development of the utmost significance: I am referring to the disarmament initiatives announced on 27 September this year by the President of the United States of America. The

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changes affect the land, naval and air nuclear forces. This broad vision brings us closer to a much safer and better world order.

I think that all would agree that global security can no longer be addressed in terms of one group of States or another. The developing world is spending 200 billion dollars annually on armaments. This is a share of the gross national product of those countries that is much higher than that of the developed States. The question is how to bring the "peace dividend" to bear on development needs.

Let me make one particular point with regard to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. The changes within the Soviet Union must not endanger this Treaty. The process of its ratification and entry into force should be completed as soon as possible. Ratification of the Treaty in its present form has no bearing on, and especially does not restrict, the right of the Soviet republics to self-determination and independence. These are different issues that do not conflict with each other. Succession to the obligations resulting from the Treaty must take place with regard to all States emerging on Soviet territory. Strict implementation of the Treaty is of paramount importance to stability and security in Europe.

No world order is conceivable without the healing of the wounds of the Middle East. Poland pledges its support to a determined search for an equitable and enduring peace in the area. Such a peace is possible provided that the legitimate security interests of all countries and peoples of the region are safeguarded. A truly historic challenge and opportunity arise from the efforts to bring about, pursuant to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), a Middle East conference with United Nations participation. Such a conference would stand a better chance if antagonisms and mistrust were overcome. Nor should there be any room for false

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accusations. For these reasons Poland believes that the General Assembly should repeal resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975 on Zionism. Let me add that the Solidarity movement in Poland and the new government have always been against that resolution. In the United Nations, its rescission has been long overdue. Consequently, Poland will join in sponsoring a draft resolution to this effect.

The Yugoslav crisis is cause for great concern. We fear that this crisis could have adverse consequences for European unity and for cooperation beyond Europe. Poland welcomes Security Council resolution 713 (1991) and will abide by it. In that resolution we see significant support for the steps that are being taken by the European Community and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE).

I think that in the course of time, when the cease-fire is consolidated, there might be room for further peace initiatives regarding the Yugoslav crisis. After all the required conditions are met - and the consent of the parties figures prominently therein - the monitoring mission could be strengthened and other peace-keeping measures considered. Poland is ready to put its experience in that field at the disposal of the United Nations and of the competent European organizations. We are equally ready to participate in the mediation or conciliation process or other appropriate mechanisms. We welcome the recourse to arbitration.

Let me add that the uses of peace-keeping in Europe may potentially have ramifications that will be wider than the Yugoslav conflict. Some areas of Europe are passing through a period of not always predictable transition. Yet Europe must remain a continent of peace, security and friendly cooperation. This broader perspective of peace-keeping and peace-management in Europe was recently envisaged by the President of the Republic of Poland and Nobel Peace

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Prize winner, Mr. Lech Walesa, in his address to the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia on 17 September 1991. This broader approach serves the aims of the United Nations and should enable us better to combine our peace efforts.

Let me now turn to some of the global issues in fields other than the elimination of armed strife and the maintenance of military and political security.

The Economic and Social Council decided last May to authorize the Secretary-General to hold consultations with a view to convening a summit meeting on issues of social policies and development. We welcome this initiative as yet another manifestation of a departure from sterile, ideologically motivated disputes on social issues in favour of the consideration of specific steps to strengthen the position of the individual and provide for better standards of life in greater freedom.

The importance of the Economic and Social Council initiatives derives also from the fact that, as the Human Development Report 1990 puts it, the lack of political commitment, not of financial resources, is often the real cause for human neglect.

In view of its past experience, Poland believes that economic development is inconceivable without its being firmly predicated on sound social development where the individual and his interests are overriding goals. We therefore welcome the preparations for the International Year of the Family, the broadest framework yet of an integrated approach to social questions at the United Nations. In line with the current trend in the Economic and Social Council, social and economic issues should be treated jointly, and this goes also for the world economic and social reports that are still being prepared separately.

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One of the global challenges we face is the degradation of the environment. The success of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Brazil in 1992, will depend on the working out of specific programmes and cost estimates. Otherwise, there will be little chance for commitments on the transfer of environmentally sound technologies and on the modalities and procedures of such transfer. There is need for additional financial resources, and although estimates vary the amounts would be large by any standard. The new sources of funding might include, first, the conversion of a part of debts for ecological purposes and, secondly, users' fees and pollution charges. In any case, there must be predictability of resources to ensure the continuity of the flow of financial means. Those are some of the problems that should be carefully studied in preparing for the Conference.

May I add that the United Nations has a greater role to play in bringing help to victims of natural and man-made disasters.

The declaration by the General Assembly of a United Nations Decade of International Law should lead to an intellectual effort linked to coordination between various participants. The task, if taken seriously, is a tremendous one.

Among other initiatives, emphasis should be put on the implementation of international law in both the municipal and the intergovernmental spheres. There are various reasons why domestic application of international law by administrative organs and courts leaves much to be desired. There are a number of countries that would certainly benefit from more extensive and systematic information on the possible approaches to the problem of domestic implementation. But there is also room for improvement in some of the States

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where the rule of law is otherwise respected. Today there is such a massive influx of international law into the internal legal order of each State that the effectiveness of the process requires a very high level of expertise and very efficient functioning of the legislature, the executive and the courts. The Decade should be used to bring about progress in this field.

This is particularly important with regard to municipal implementation of international instruments on human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the protection of minorities. The Secretary-General deserves credit for stressing that

> "the principle of non-interference with the essential domestic jurisdiction of States cannot be regarded as a protective barrier behind which human rights could be massively or systematically violated with impunity." (A/46/1, p. 10)

It should be made clear that the exception of domestic jurisdiction does not apply to any case where there is international regulation. Today, practically all the multifarious human rights and fundamental freedoms are subject to treaty or other obligations. Hence, their violation does not belong to the reserved domain of States, nor does individual or concerted action by Governments in defence of human rights constitute any interference or intervention in the internal affairs of the State.

The Decade of International Law should also draw our attention to the role of international tribunals. The recent frequent resort by States to the International Court of Justice is a positive development. The acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court should be encouraged. In particular, it would seem useful to study the possibility of extending the practice of States under the optional clause of the Statute of the International Court of

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Justice whereby States parties to a dispute would agree to go to the Court should the Security Council of the United Nations so recommend. I am referring to Article 36, paragraph 3, of the Charter and to Article 36 of the Court's Statute. Finally, because it entails flexibility and has other advantages, recourse to arbitration should be enhanced.

As our world becomes less and less divided, the role of law in strengthening the structure of international society becomes greater. Some say that there are situations in which there is a contradiction between national interest and the law of the Charter. That is not true, and our Organization is, I think, proving it. In the United Nations there is no alternative to cooperation and common action under the rule of law.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.